2: Mitchell E-5 (1946-1949) 1956 FT7 Yao FT7

economic centre of Southern Nyasaland and much land has been alienated to Whites there. Liwonde area, which has only 30·7 to the square mile, has large parts that are unpopulated because of the lack of surface water on the escarpment of the Rift Valley.

This population is by no means homogeneous, tribally or linguistically, but culturally the tribes are all very similar. The Yao, Nguru and Nyanja, who comprise most of the population, live in villages under village headmen; marry uxorilocally; have similar practices and beliefs in sorcery and disease. Table II

TABLE II

TRIBAL COMPOSITION OF THE CHIEFDOMS: 1945

Chiefdom	Total Population	Percentages of Tribes			
		Yao	Nguru	Nyanja	Ngoni
Jalasi	40,287	81·3	12·4	5·9	0·2
Nyambi	7335	73·2	26·8	0·0	0·0
Kawinga	44,789	48·7	35·7	14·4	1·2
Liwonde	12,176	73·2	19·6	5·2	0·1
Malemia	12,448	73·1	9·6	13·7	1·6

Sources: Nyasaland Census, 1945. Abstracted from the detailed returns at the District Commissioner's Offices at Zomba and Fort Johnston.

shows the tribal make-up of the five areas with which I am concerned. Three-quarters of the population in all these areas are Yao. In Kawinga area, in which non-Yao tribes are most numerous, only one-half of the people are Yao, but included in this area are the two Mpotola subordinate chieftains Ngokwe and Chikweo, whose followers are predominantly Nguru (42·7 and 55·7 per cent).[1] If we exclude these two chiefdoms, the proportion of Yao in the rest of Kawinga area is 55·6 per cent. Nyambi and Kawinga areas, lying as they do against the Portuguese East African boundary, have the greater proportion of Nguru. Within Kawinga area the concentration of the Nguru along the boundary is also shown. Chiwalo chiefdom, which lies to the west of Kawinga area, has only 15 per cent Nguru,

[1] It seems here that the Mpotola may have been enumerated as Nguru and Nyanja.

[text continues on p 16]

2: Mitchell E-5 (1946-1949) 1956 FT7 Yao FT7

slightly more than the extreme southerly chiefdoms, Mposa and Chamba. As we have seen, half the population of the two most easterly chiefdoms is Nguru.

The Nyanja are concentrated mostly along the Shire River banks and around the Lake Shirwa shores. Most in Kawinga are at the north end of the Lake Shirwa or in Mposa at Lake Shirwa [1] and, according to the census, in Ngokwe in the extreme north-east. It is possible that in Ngokwe some of the Mpotola have been enumerated as Nyanja.

Although my study was of the Yao, I cannot exclude these other ethnic groups from it. The specific percentages must not be considered as exact reflections of the tribal make-up in the area. Though the villages of the three main tribal groups tend to be distinct, and intermarriage is not as great as might be expected, there are increasing numbers of children of mixed tribal parentage. There is some value in the figures, but we must take into consideration the general political situation in these chiefdoms. I enlarge upon this theme later. Generally speaking, however, the Yao have come in as invaders, while most Nguru have come in as immigrants. The Yao have greater prestige both in the eyes of the Whites and in the general structure of the chiefdoms. Many Nguru therefore, who have been in this area for some time, have come to call themselves Yao if they are asked, especially by a White man. This is especially true of the Mpotola people where they are living under Yao chiefs. The Mpotola are technically Nguru but most have lost their own language and speak only Yao. The Administration did not classify the Mpotola as a separate tribe in the Census and it is difficult to decide whether they were included as Yao or Nguru. Most of the Mpotola headmen I have met in Yao chiefdoms have called themselves Yao until they were prevailed upon to qualify their claim. Allowing for some discrepancies in the figures, the table shows nevertheless that numerically the Yao outnumber any other tribe in the area. In general, the other tribes are members of the chiefdoms and take part in most of the social activities which occur within them. I outline later the position of their headmen in the general political structure, but I wish to set out here some general notes on the tribal background of the non-Yao groups.

The term Nguru is applied to a large group of people who call

[1] 32 per cent of the population in Mposa's area is Nyanja.

2: Mitchell E-5 (1946-1949) 1956 FT7 Yao FT7

themselves Alomwe. These people came from that part of Portuguese East Africa immediately to the east of Nyasaland. They speak a group of dialects mutually intelligible and widely different from either Yao or Nyanja. Culturally and structurally they are similar to the Yao and Nyanja, practising matrilineal descent and uxorilocal marriage, and living in small groups of matrilineal kin. Their religious and mystical beliefs are also the same. Some of the linguistic groups that form this congeries are the Shirima, Kokhola, Metho, Thokwani, Ratha, Kuwa, Nahara, Marenje, Nyamwelo, Mihavani and Nikhukhu. These people have been migrating into Nyasaland over the last fifty years, and now predominate in the Cholo and Chiradzulu districts.

The Nyanja were the original inhabitants in these areas, but have been almost completely displaced by the Yao, except in Liwonde along the Shire River and in Kawinga along the Lake Shirwa shores. Linguistically they are more akin to the Yao than to the Lomwe, but their language is still unintelligible to the Yao. Culturally they appear to be similar to the Yao, and they have accepted certain Yao institutions such as the boys' initiation ceremonies (*lupanda*), and have been fitted into the social and political structure.

The Ngoni, of whom there are very few here, are concentrated on the south side of the Chikala Range, in the areas of Chamba and Mposa, who are subordinate chiefs to Kawinga. They are the remnants of various Ngoni armies that raided into Nyasaland during the last two or three decades of the nineteenth century. As far as I could ascertain they have adopted Nyanja ways and language.

Historical Background to the Modern Economic Situation

Nyasaland to-day, as part of the British Empire, is in the general world economic system, and the Africans in the tribal areas participate in this system, though not to the same degree as the White planters in the Shire and Dedza Highlands. If the Yao were ever a people who supported themselves by their agriculture alone, they had adopted a more complex economy long before the Whites came to Nyasaland. Later, when I discuss their historical background, I outline briefly the position

2: Mitchell E-5 (1946-1949) 1956 FT7 Yao FT7

him about the laws it intends to introduce which affect his people. The Administration transmits new Ordinances and Regulations to the chief and he must then relay them to the village headmen. When it advises the chief of a new law it thereby advises the people of his chiefdom.

The Origin of Villages in Modern Chiefdoms

We have thus far been looking at the chiefdom as an organization of villages united by their common interests in and association with one chief. But the villages that compose the chiefdom are not all equally closely integrated into the political structure. This is most clearly seen against the background of how the modern chiefdoms came into being.

By the time that the 1912 Ordinance was introduced the social composition of the chiefdoms had undergone some change from what it was before the White conquest. Before the White conquest the Yao chiefs had overcome the indigenous inhabitants of Southern Nyasaland. Some of these had been allowed to remain in the area as subjects. Others were enslaved. There were some Nguru, Nyanja and Mpotola village headmen who had come to seek the protection of the Yao chiefs.

During the conquest, the territory was thrown into confusion, and villages fled in abandon from their own into neighbouring chiefdoms both in Southern Nyasaland and Mozambique. When the Administration allowed the chiefs to return, most of the important village headmen and their followers returned with them. Kawinga, for example, was allowed to return, not to Mount Chikala but to the area immediately to the north of it. He brought back with him most of his important headmen who had fled with him to the country of the Mpotola chief Nkanyela, in Mozambique. Jalasi was allowed to return from Portuguese Territory in 1906,[1] not to his mountain fortress Mangoche, but to a smaller hill Sakalwe some miles to the east. He gathered round him a few of his important headmen.

When hostilities ceased, there was a certain amount of internal readjustment. Some villages which had fled to other chiefdoms in the Protectorate started to come back while others stayed behind. To-day there are villages here and there which had left their chiefdoms in the confusion and had then joined their present

[1] District Book, Fort Johnston.

2: Mitchell E-5 (1946-1949) 1956 FT7 Yao FT7

The Characteristics of the Three Categories of Headmen

In Table V I have set out the ethnic affiliation of the headmen in the three categories and also the dates of arrival of Newcomers in the Kawinga–Liwonde area. This table shows that

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TABLE V

Numbers of Village Headmen who are Aborigines, Invaders and Newcomers

Tribes	Aborigines	Invaders*	Newcomers							Total
			Pre-White	White Conquest—1907	1908–17	1918–27	1928–37	1938–47	Unrecorded	
Yao . . .	—	144	19	60	20	14	13	13	35	318
Mpotola . .	—	53	—	43	21	9	1	1	—	128
Nguru . .	—	5	2	46	58	40	27	14	17	218
Nyanja . .	25	3	1	4	6	1	1	4	1	46
Unrecorded .	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	6	6
Total . . .	25	205	22	153	105	73	42	32	59	716

* In Ngokwe area, 39 villages are classified as Invaders who came into Nyasaland as refugees from the Portuguese military actions at the close of the nineteenth century.

easily the great majority of villages has come into the area since the White conquest. On the other hand, only 3·5 per cent are Aborigines. Just over a quarter (28·6 per cent) are direct descendants of the original Invaders or headmen of villages which have branched off from these. The remainder (67·9 per cent) are the Newcomers who have submitted themselves to the Invaders. Far more Newcomers came in during the decade following the White conquest than in any of the more recent decades.[1] We cannot argue directly from these figures that the greatest influx of Newcomers into Nyasaland took place before World War I. Newcomers in the more recent decades may be as numerous but may be passing out of the area more quickly, and therefore are not recorded in my survey. On the other

[1] Nguru immigration in 1908–27 was due to exceptional causes.

2: Mitchell E-5 (1946-1949) 1956 FT7 Yao FT7

hand, all villages tend to disappear in time. We should therefore expect more of the headmen who came in during the earlier decades to be forgotten, and the trend should be more pronounced than it is. In fact we know from other sources that immigration of the Nguru, who represent about one-half of the Newcomers, was greatest before 1930, and it is almost certain that the figures do reflect the change in the amount of Nguru immigration, and that the factors which may operate against the trend are not important. As a whole the set of figures suggests that immigration is slowly coming to an end.

The Aborigines are all Nyanja. Among the Invaders, 70·2 per cent are Yao, 25·9 per cent are Mpotola, and the remainder 3·9 per cent are Nyanja and Nguru. The Mpotola Invaders are practically all in the Ngokwe and Chikweo areas, so that in the other areas (i.e. in Liwonde, Kawinga, Chamba and Mposa) the Yao represent 94·9 per cent of the Invaders; the remainder are Mpotola. Under Ngokwe and Chikweo who are Mpotola chieftains, 54·5 per cent (48 of 88) of the Invaders are Mpotola, and 37·5 per cent are Yao, and the remaining 8·0 per cent are Nyanja and Nguru. Among the 486 Newcomers, 35·8 per cent of the headmen are Yao, 15·4 per cent Mpotola, 43·8 per cent Nguru and 4·9 per cent are mainly Nyanja. In general, therefore, we may say that the Aborigines are all Nyanja; the Invaders are Yao in the major area and Mpotola in the other area; and the Newcomers are predominantly Nguru from Portuguese East Africa, though there is a fair proportion of Yao who have come from other Nyasaland districts.

There are significant differences among the three categories of headmen in their religious affiliations. In general there are more Moslems (71·8 per cent) among all headmen than Christians or Pagans. But there are more Moslems among the Invaders than among either the Aborigines or the Newcomers.[1] There are more Pagans among the Newcomers, but the proportion of Christians among the Aborigines and the Newcomers is about equal (25·0 per cent and 21·9 per cent). These differences in religious affiliations are consistent with the different historical backgrounds of the two groups. The Invaders are the descendants of the Yao slavers, who in the past had been in intimate

[1] Invaders = 91·1 per cent; Others = 63·9 per cent; Diff. of per cent = 27·2; S.E. of diff. = 3·7; C.R. = 7·2; $p < 0.0001$.

2: Mitchell E-5 (1946-1949) 1956 FT7 Yao FT7

their councillors at the courts. If they were relatives of the chief it is almost certain that he would have mentioned them. We may assume then that the true proportion of unrelated headmen among the Newcomers is, as we would expect, very much greater than among the Invaders.

Of the total of 424 Administrative villages there were ten in which I did not record the formal relationship to the chief. In Table IX I set out the proportions in these categories among the Administrative village headmen, and there is no radical difference between these proportions and those for all village headmen.

TABLE IX

PROPORTIONS OF RELATIVES AND NON-RELATIVES AMONG ADMINISTRATIVE HEADMEN*

	Chief's Relatives						Non-Relatives	Total
	Direct			Clan				
	Mat.	Pat.	Aff.	Mat.	Pat.	Aff.		
Invaders . .	18 (13·2)	23 (16·9)	6 (4·4)	24 (17·6)	11 (8·1)	9 (6·6)	45 (33·1)	136 (99·9 %)
Newcomers .	0 (0·0)	9 (3·5)	12 (4·7)	20 (7·8)	11 (4·3)	12 (4·7)	193 (75·1)	257† (100·1 %)
Total . .	18	32	18	44	22	21	238	393

$n = 6$; $\chi^2 = 90{\cdot}5$; $p = 0{\cdot}0001$.

* This table excludes the 21 Aborigines.

† Excludes 10 villages for which I have not recorded this information.

To summarize, we may characterize the Invaders as Yao, Moslems, and associates of their chiefs by historical connections and kinship ties. The Newcomers and the Aborigines on the other hand are of different tribes. They have more diverse religions, are not connected to the chiefs by kinship ties as closely as the Invaders are, and do not share with them the strong bond of being co-Invaders. It is in the struggle for prestige and rank that these bonds with the chiefs assume significance.

3:Stannus D-5 (ca. 1912) 1922 FT7 Yao FT7

Both before and after the introduction of guns, the Yao used spears, *lipanga*, and bows, *ukunja*. The spear is a five foot long throwing spear with metal head and wooden shaft. No shield was used. Bows and arrows are made from the wood of the *tesa* or *pimbinyolo* tree. The string is made of tendon. A double-bellied bow called *ukunja wa mbama* was sometimes used, but, I believe, originally came from the Anyanja. The arrows, *mpamba*, have a metal arrow-head, and were often poisoned with *kombe*. 411

Hunting. The same weapons are used in hunting: the gun, the spear, and the bow and arrow. Smaller bows and arrows made with bamboo or reed shaft are also employed for shooting birds; one of the arrows has a blunt wooden head and serves to stun the bird. 224 411

From the Anyanja, the Yao learned the use of a harpoon for spearing the hippopotamus. The harpoon is a heavy spear-head of iron about eighteen inches long, attached to a rope and float. From the Anyanja, also, was learned the use of the falling block with spear for killing hippo. [177]

Elephants are caught in staked pits, and the larger antelopes are similarly trapped in pits with the sides sloping inwards towards the bottom, so that as the animal falls lower and lower with expiration, it is eventually suffocated. 224

Small buck are driven by dogs into nets set for long distances in the forest, and then speared or shot. Traps are also set for these smaller antelope and for many other small animals, rodents, etc. Birds are shot or trapped. Bird-lime is also employed. It is prepared from the juices of a number of trees by pounding the vegetable matter in water; the sticky mass so made is applied to sticks or poles. The sticks are placed near drinking places so that the birds alighting to take water become entangled. The poles are affixed to trees so that they appear to be the topmost boughs; this the native does, recognising the common habit of birds to sit on the very top of trees. The strength of the bird-lime is made according to the size of the bird he wishes to catch. [231] 223

Fishing. I am not sure how far the Yao is a natural fisherman. Not long ago he used only a many-pronged spear to catch his fish. Since then, he has acquired from the Anyanja the knowledge of making fish-traps and nets, and of using the fish poison. When the Yao came to live and intermarry among the Anyanja, there was one practice of the latter which they would not adopt and which caused a good deal of ill-feeling. A Mang'anja man coming home after fishing always used to prepare the fish and, leaving some ready to cook, he cooked others for his wife, bringing her water at the same time to wash her hands. After eating her own fish, she cooked the rest for her husband. A Yao would never cook for his wife. 226 [578 563]

Traps. The following is a list of some of the traps I have found in use among the Yao. The sketches will serve to explain their mechanism better than a lengthy description. Some are very ingeniously made, and most recall similar traps made in other parts of the world. 224

1. *Lukonji lwa litsuula*, a trap for the cane-rat (Pl. XIX, fig. 1).

2. *Lukonji lwa mbindi*, a trap for sharp-toothed gnawing animals, so called from

4: Stannus D-5 (ca. 1909) 1910 FT7 Yao FT7
Maravi FR4

NOTES ON SOME TRIBES OF BRITISH CENTRAL AFRICA.

By H. S. Stannus, M.B.

[With Plates XXVI, XXVII.]

With reference to what follows, I deal with the inhabitants at the southern end of Lake Nyasa, more especially those near Fort Johnston.

This people is very mixed, the original inhabitants, "Anyanja," belonging to Nyanja stock, one of the many branches of the Bantu, were many times overrun by invading waves from the east, Amangoche, Ajawa (Yao), Machinga, Maraninga, and their territory at this point was also raided from the other side by the Angoni. Though the Machinga may be said to have settled here and be the ruling spirit, the people are more Anyanja than anything else, and their customs, etc., though suffering by being those of a conquered race, yet have survived in great part. Those people are often called the Nyasa, only meaning the dwellers near the Lake, but it is a good collective name now.

As far as possible these notes refer to Anyanja and their customs, and added matter and Yao elements have been eliminated; for this reason they will be found to differ in some ways from accounts given by others.

Of the average native one may say that his physique is very fair; given regular work and food, conditions such as exist on some of the boats, he develops into a very fine muscular man. A man will carry between fifty and sixty pounds 40 miles in one day, or a number of days in succession covering half that distance per diem. A man could cover 50 to 60 miles in twenty-four hours. He can travel the whole day without food, and would do three or four days' march unloaded without food provided he had water to drink.

Sensibility to pain is undoubtedly less than in the European, *i.e.*, the native can stand pain well if he be not afraid (*e.g.*, removal of sebaceous cyst without anæsthetic, extraction of teeth, etc.), the pain seems sometimes to be deferred, *i.e.*, in cases of tooth extraction appears to be perceptible a minute after the actual operation. An inflammatory condition seems to cause them intense agony, so that I would say they do not feel pain so acutely, but they do not bear it as well as a European.

I would make another contrast, in fighting against disease a native will often go under from sheer apathy, whereas the white man keeps going by his nervous energy. I have seen the reverse in the case of a carrier who went through an

643 and determine petty native cases was conferred
622 upon the headmen, though the District Commis-
175 sioner was supposed to seek their advice when
necessary.
648 Therefore, from the time of conquest a pattern of superordination of the Whites and subordination of the Africans was established and the indigenous political system remained largely without official recognition until the Native Authorities Ordinance was passed in 1933. The major change wrought by this Ordinance was that Native Courts were planned and instituted by the Native Courts Ordinance of the same year. At the same time a Native Treasury was founded.

IV. The Present POSITION

643 winga to Portuguese East Africa. They were
175 allowed to return later and they took up their
648 positions in an area roughly outlined in the early
131 part of this paper. At the same time, owing to military action by the Portuguese a certain number of refugees were crossing the border into the Lake Ciuta area of Nyasaland.

TABLE I

Demographic Composition of Political Areas[1]

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Sub. Area	*Tot. Pop.*	*Admin. Vills.*	*Av. Pop. of Admin. Vills.*	*Tribal Composition*			
				Yao %	Nguru %	Nyanja %	Ngoni %
N.A. Kawinga (Yao)	23,087	311	74	51	37	10	2
S.N.A. Camba (Yao)	5,119	61	84	72	20	7	1
S.N.A. Mpona (Yao)	4,411	60	74	49	19	32	—
S.N.A. Chiwalo (Yao)	2,202	19	116	80	15	5	—
S.N.A. Ngokwe (Mpotola)	2,868	21	136	16	43	40	1
S.N.A. Chikweo (Mpotola)	7,102	49	145	28	56	16	—
N.A. Liwonde (Yao)[2]	12,716	106	120	75	20	5	—
N.A. Nyambi (Yao)[2]	7,335	63[3]	116	73	27	—	—

631 that there is a relatively low proportion of Yao in the area whereas the Nguru are well represented. The term Nguru is applied by the Yao to any person from a certain part of Portuguese East Africa. It is indiscriminately applied to a number of tribes, though mostly to the Lomwe who form a congeries of related tribes.

Liwonde sub-district lies to the west of that of Kawinga and it has as its western boundary the Shire River. There is one S.N.A. in the area, Stora, appointed in 1940, but I could not visit him and there is no census information on this group. This new S.N.A. is a sister's son to the present Liwonde and actually stands in the direct line of succession to the name of Liwonde.

Nyambi sub-district is now a part of Fort Johnston District. It lies to the north of Kawinga's area and is small. The relationship of Nyambi to Liwonde and Kawinga has been noted above (p. 147). At the same time it was noted that Nyambi calls Jalasi "my child" (*mwanangu*). Jalasi, who had been a powerful leader, was recognized by the Administration as a superior chief in the area. The Nyambi who was living at the time resented the activities of a person who was genealogically inferior to him and therefore moved from the area he occupied then, to the present position which was under Kawinga at the time (about 1914). When the Native Authorities Ordinance was introduced Nyambi was made an N.A. independently of Kawinga. Recently (1947) the subdistrict under his jurisdiction was transferred from Zomba District Administration to Fort Johnston, largely at the request of the present Nyambi who said that he preferred to be with his own relatives (Jalasi's family).

563 The Table I shows that in some areas there is a considerable proportion of non-Yao under Yao chiefs. The reason for this is that the Yao came into these areas as conquerors, either eliminating the indigenous Nyanja or allowing them to remain there in a subordinate position. Later, from the turn of the century until about 1930, there was a gradual infiltration of Nguru peoples into Nyasaland from Portuguese East Africa. The presence of the different tribal

563 groups presents a problem to be considered but for the main purposes of this paper a brief comment is sufficient.

The Nyanja people who were allowed to remain in the areas, continued to live in their village communities in much the same way as the Yao did. In fact the Nyanja and the Nguru are so similar in culture to the Yao, that it was possible for them to fit into the Yao social structure fairly easily. For example, in Mposa's area Mbande and Mbeta are recognized by the local Yao subchief as important personages since they were the indigenous chiefs in the area before the Yao came in as invaders. Both, for example, have adopted the Yao practice of wearing a red band round the head to indicate rank. Both have the right to conduct the Yao indigenous initiation ceremonies. At one meeting I attended Mbande was allowed to sit in a chair while the only other person to do so was Mposa himself. This is a mark of honour since no commoner is allowed to sit in a chair in the presence of the chief.

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[554]

In the same way the Nguru immigrants have come in small groups of matrilineal kin and have settled either in hamlets alone or set up small hamlets in close vicinity to kinsmen. Their headmen in turn have been absorbed into the general political structure though they have their own language and distinguishing cultural traits. Thus some Nguru initiate their boys according to their own *cidototo*, though others will allow their boys

[Text continues TOP of P.151B]

V. THE POLITICAL STRUCTURE

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The accompanying diagram is designed to summarize the main types of interaction that take place in the political structure of the three areas. Interaction between the social personalities in the political structure can be said to take place in reference to certain sets of values. One set of values is that which the Yao recognize and believe to belong to the White people. Another set of valuer they recognize and subscribe to as their own. A chief may interact with a village headman because he has broken a regulation which

[Text continues bottom of P.151B]

563 to be initiated according to the Yao custom (*lupanda*). In general, the Nguru headmen are village headmen in the same way as the Yao are and they follow the same pattern in political behaviour.

563 621 At the moment, throughout the areas, the various tribal groups live in kinship clusters so that under one Yao administrative headman there may be two or three unrelated Yao kin-groups and possibly one or two Nguru groups living quite separately. Though the population in the area as a whole is mixed, usually the village groups are tribally homogeneous. So far little inter-marriage has taken place. I shall not here analyse this situation, though it is politically pregnant. In many ways the Nguru immigrants [771] are more progressive than the Yao. Most Yao in this area are professed Moslems and do not attend the local schools which are Christian. However, the missions have been more successful among the Nguru and they are becoming more educated and advanced. A good proportion of the Government posts in the area is filled by Nguru for this reason. This is most significant in the context of the general situation as will become apparent in the description below. For the rest of the paper I shall consider the political structure as I see it, in terms of the social personalities in the structure, and the presence of these non-Yao groups is implicit in the rest of this analysis.

V. The Political STRUCTURE

648 642 177 the Administration has persuaded the chief to pass and the full significance of which lies in a system of European values. These systems of values are foreign to each other in many features. Opposition between the two groups, White and Black, must arise if their behaviour is affected by different sets of values. The Yao, for example, believe that most deaths are caused by sorcery and claim the right to take punitive measures against the sorcerers. The Whites do not believe in this and prevent punitive action against people

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177 who are, to them, innocent. The diagram has been divided obliquely to represent these two systems or fields of values. The division of the diagram into two parts depicts a major rift in local political relationships. While some political relationships, as say between village headmen, do not directly manifest this cleavage, in most, as say the chief with his subjects, though the Whites are not present in person, they are there in the context of the interaction. This will become evident as the analysis proceeds, but at this point it is sufficient to observe that the Whites and the White system of values are an integral part of the modern Yao political organization.

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648 In addition to this, there is a hierarchy of status roughly conforming to the placing of the social personalities in the diagram, i.e., the White Administrator is of higher status than the African Civil Service which is roughly on the same level as the chiefs, but both are on a higher status than the Native Authority's clerk and officials are. The lines represent the main direction of interaction.

648 1. *The White Administrator and the African*
563 *Civil Service*

By the White Administrator I mean the District Commissioners, Agricultural Officers and other Government officials who come into contact with the African populations, particularly in the rural areas. The social distance between a White person in general and the Africans is much larger than that between, say, an African chief and his meanest subject. Social interaction on an intimate basis cannot take place between chief and Administrator mainly because their relationship is dominated by the pattern of all South African territories, where White does not interact intimately with Black. I have already stated that not many Europeans come into the area. Those Whites that do come into the area are immediately accorded the status of an Administrative Officer and are apt to be thought of as such, though they may not be so. The Yao clearly recognizes that the Labour Recruiter is a different sort of person from the Missionary and both differ from District Commissioners, but

648 nevertheless the type of behaviour which is normal between Labour Recruiter and African is dictated 563 by the pattern of behaviour of African to Administrator. The Yao find it extremely difficult to separate out their attitudes to these different types of social personalities and the main reason is that they tend to categorize all White people into a general class "Whites" of whom the most common representative to them is the Adiministrator.

647 It is, however, impossible to consider the Administrator without reference to the African 648 Civil Service. I am using this phrase to mean those Africans who are in constant and direct interaction with the Administrator. I include the clerks, interpreters, messengers, policemen, and other intermediaries between the Administrator himself and the people. Probably of major importance is the interpreter who speaks directly to the people on behalf of the Administrator. In Southern Nyasaland the official language is Nyanja and officials are expected to learn it for their official business. Some of the Yao men [191] in the area under study can understand and speak Nyanja but some men cannot and certainly most women cannot do so. Therefore, the tendency is for the Administrators to make use of interpreters in dealings with the Yao and other peoples in the area. The Administrators do not interact directly with various social personalities but do so rather through either their own civil service or through the N.A.'s Bureaucracy who, being educated, are able to speak and understand the official language. The Administrators are in direct interaction with their own Civil Service and only in indirect interaction with the other social personalities in the political structure.

The African Civil Service stands for a set of White values and for this reason is placed in the "Whites Values" part of the diagram.[1] The African Civil servant represents the District Commissioner or Agricultural Officer to the tribesman. The Tax Clerk, while he is collecting taxes, is part of the system of the Administrator. The Agricultural Capitao (African official) represents the Agricultural Officer to the villager when he instructs him in the building of contour ridges.

[1] [See p. 152 — Analyst.]

693 paid by the chief but still advise him, and retain
645 much of the prestige due to their rank, which is inherited. Others have been incorporated as court assessors though they may not actually take part in the duties. Some now combine both sets of duties and function both as councillors and court assessors. Some of the duties of both sets of officials, however, have been taken over by the court clerk and other court functionaries. Although the position of court assessor was part of the old tribal structure, modern court assessors see themselves as occupying a position in a structure largely of White fashioning. I once heard a court assessor when conducting an enquiry into a case of adultery, cut short the prolixity of a witness saying: "None of these long stories. We are conducting this case according to the custom of the Whites."

More illuminating still is the position that the court clerks occupy in the modern structure. [212] They are differentiated from the vast majority of the population because they are literate. All of them have been educated, usually in a mission [563] school. A high proportion of them are Nguru because more Nguru are Christian (hence educated) than Yao (see p. 151). Because he can read and write, the chief court clerk is the medium through which the chief expresses himself in writing and the medium through which he gets written information from the Administrators and others. The court clerk is therefore in a unique position of knowing all the business that comes into the chief's hand by letter. He, of course, must also write the replies so that he has a very good knowledge of what is going on in the territory. In addition, because of his education and knowledge of the ways of the White people the court clerk often makes a better councillor than the uneducated and naive traditional councillor does. Therefore in certain matters the court clerk, rather than the councillor, is the chief's most important adviser.

693 The various other officials have different
647 functions to perform, frequently of a semi-technical nature. There are sanitary inspectors, well inspectors, etc. The court sergeant who is present at the cases now performs many of the